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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Peoples party. New York (State)

TWO

SPEECHES,

DELIVERED IN THE

NEW-YORK STATE CONVENTION,

SEPTEMBER, 1824,

WITH THE

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City of Washington

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

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PREFACE.

On the 21st of September, 1824, the New-York state convention assembled at Utica, composed of delegates from fifty-two counties, to recommend to the electors of the state of New-York suitable candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor. Mr. C. G. Haines, of the city of New-York, was elected a delegate to represent the county of Richmond, and took his seat according to his appointment. On the second day of the session, George Merchant, Esq. one of the delegates from the county of Albany, a distinguished and venerable republican, introduced a resolution, which condemned, in pointed terms, but in appropriate language, the nomination of Samuel Young, for governor, and of Erastus Root, for lieutenant-governor, by a legislative caucus. When this resolution was laid before the convention, Mr. Wheaton, of New-York, moved to postpone its consideration to a future period. In this motion he was sustained by Mr. Gouverneur, of New-York, and Mr. Seward, of Orange, and opposed by Mr. German, of Chenango, Mr. Miller, of Courtlandt, Mr. Benedict, of Putnam, Mr. Kibbe, of Ontario, Mr. Jones, of Schenectady, and Mr. Haines, of Richmond. Mr. German, in one of those clear, energetic, and impressive appeals peculiar to his powers as a public speaker, presented the charac-

ter of King Caucus to the convention. The first speech that follows was made by Mr. Haines, on the motion in question, and reported for the Albany Daily Advertiser. The motion was lost, and the resolution amended and adopted.

During the day that Mr. Merchant's resolution was discussed, the convention was moved to proceed to an informal ballot for a candidate, suitable to be recommended to the people for the office of governor. The convention accordingly proceeded to an experimental test of the opinion of the various delegates. De Witt Clinton, Ambrose Spencer, James Tallmadge, John W. Taylor, Cadwallader D. Colden, and Henry Huntington were voted for; but Mr. Clinton received a large and decided majority over all the other candidates. The convention then adjourned, and assembled again on the evening of the same day. The roll was called, and a motion then made, that the convention proceed to a conclusive ballot. As the president was on the point of taking the question on this motion, those who opposed Mr. Clinton's nomination opened a long and stormy debate, which lasted several hours. After a candid and eloquent appeal to the majority to yield up Mr. Clinton, on the part of Mr. Finch, of Orange, which was made in language the most dignified and respectful, and which was received in a spirit of personal regard for the speaker,— Mr. Wheaton, of New-York, addressed the convention, and took an extended view of the leading features of Mr. Clinton's political life, in language of pointed reprehension. This speech was reported for the New-York American, and reprinted in the Albany Argus, and has been extensively read. Mr. Smith, of Madison, made an eloquent and powerful speech, dissenting from the policy of nominating Mr. Clinton. He was followed by Mr. Stevens, of Courtlandt, Mr. Camp, of Tompkins, Mr. Seward, of Orange, and Mr. Barstow, of

Tioga. Mr. Viele, of Saratoga, and Mr. Haines, of Richmond, pressed the nomination of Mr. Clinton, which was finally made, after the first ballot, by a unanimous resolution. Mr. Haines's speech, in answer to Mr. Wheaton, will be found in the sequel, and has been published by the friends of Mr. Clinton as a brief exposition, illustrating the character of this great statesman.

September, 1824.

SPEECH.

Mr. Haines said, that he was somewhat astonished that in the adoption of the resolution, introduced by the gentleman from Albany, an old and long-tried republican, there could be any difference of opinion. He had thought that on such a subject, the convention could not pause for a moment. Why had that convention assembled? Why had more than fifty counties, embracing nearly two millions of people, sent their delegates to Utica? Why had men left their homes, and some of them travelled hundreds of miles? Was it not to oppose the caucus system? Was it not to stamp upon it the broad seal of condemnation? He referred to the call of the members of the legislature which had produced the convention. What was the crisis which had produced that call? Two cabals, one at Washington and another at Albany, had attempted to dictate to the people, who they should choose, and who they should obey. Two cabals, without the shadow of delegated power from the people, had sent forth their decrees, and called upon a free people to go to the ballot boxes and there confirm them. What was the present political condition of the state of New-York? Was she not degraded in the eyes of her sister states? Was she not shorn of her splendour in the confederacy? Was she not bound in chains, and delivered over in the political market to promote the views of aspir-

ing and selfish managers on the political theatre? Great in resources, unrivalled in commerce and agriculture, and possessing a deep interest in manufactures; fertile in splendid talents and great men, and unrivalled in enterprise and civil policy—her population comprising the physical strength of an empire, animated by patriotism, and led by intelligence—she was a mere shadow in the great contest for president and vice-president. Her sister states beheld her with amazement, wearing her manacles. Like some distant province in a great and overshadowing monarchy, where every thing is moved by one vast machine, she may inquire, *What does King Caucus decree next? What news from the Capitol?* From Washington pass to Albany. The caucus at Washington had told the state of New-York who should be president and vice-president: in obedience to the laws and structure of the system, a caucus at Albany had sanctioned the caucus at Washington, and told us who should be governor and lieutenant-governor.

It was to this system, extending from the centre to the extremities of the union, that the people might look for many of the evils that disgrace the country. It was owing to the machinery of the caucus system, that two hundred and sixty thousand voters in the state of New-York had been disfranchised; that they had been deprived of the exercise of their constitutional rights. It was owing to this system that two hundred and sixty thousand voters were now called on to send in their adhesion to Samuel Young and Erastus Root, through the ballot boxes. These, said Mr. Haines, were some of the reasons that produced the call of the convention. The people of the different counties had been requested, on a certain day, to assemble and send delegates to a state convention. This call embraced two objects: first—the recommendation

of an electoral ticket for president and vice-president; and secondly, the recommendation of candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor. Caucus management having defeated the passage of the electoral law, and thus literally disfranchised the people of this state, and as it was apparent that the people had nothing to do with the election of a president and vice-president, Mr. Haines said that he did not perceive that the convention had any thing to do with the recommendation of an electoral ticket to the people. It would be a mere idle ceremony—a degrading mockery, that could only serve to insult voters who were entitled to rights, and had lost them by political fraud. But far different was the case as to governor and lieutenant-governor. In this matter, thank our happier fortunes, the people could still act. Something was yet left them; and before the convention proceeded to recommend candidates for the two distinguished offices in question, he saw a clear propriety in passing a resolution to condemn the caucus nomination at Albany. If that nomination was correct and binding, what had the state convention to do? If Samuel Young and Erastus Root were to be elected to govern the state, for what had the people sent delegates to a state convention? What remained for the convention to recommend? Nothing. They might ratify the decrees of the Albany caucus and go home. Would this satisfy the state?

What was the legislative caucus which nominated Samuel Young and Erastus Root? It was a body of men sent by the people to legislate; to pass the electoral law, and all other useful laws demanded by the best interests of the state. Forgetting their duty to the people; forgetting their solemn pledges to their constituents to pass the electoral bill; forgetting the wants of the public, and the honour, the reputation, and the rights of the state of New-York, they step out of the

path of duty, and with schemes of self-interest and personal advancement at their hearts, they assemble in a caucus and give to the people a governor and a lieutenant-governor, and attempt to palm off their candidates for these offices. Was this their duty? Did the people elect members of the legislature to hold nightly caucuses? Did it compose any part of their delegated power from the people to decree in a caucus that Mr. Young and Mr. Root should rule over us? When the caucus nomination of Mr. Young and Mr. Root was sent forth to the people, they rejected the dictation with offended pride and disdain. And what have they done? Met in their several counties from New-York to Niagara, and sent one hundred and twenty-one delegates to a state convention, to recommend candidates in opposition to the caucus men. The members of this convention are not sent here to legislate; they are not sent here to pass laws; they are not sent here under pledges to pass the electoral bill, which those who composed the caucus were pledged to pass; but they are sent here to exercise a specific delegated power. The people have sent their representatives here to explore every part of the great political field spread before them; to ascertain the tone of public sentiment, and the condition of public feeling in the various counties of the state; to ascertain, as far as possible, by a candid and patient comparison of views, the preference of the freemen of this state as to candidates; and when all this is done, to recommend those men for governor and lieutenant-governor, the best calculated to command the suffrages of the independent electors of the state. Between a legislative caucus then, and this convention, is there no difference? Is there not the broadest line of distinction that can be drawn between two political bodies? Either the caucus is right, or the state convention is right. Right they both cannot be. If the state convention is a sound republican body, emanating from the

will of the people, then the caucus is a gross and palpable usurpation of power. It is founded on bare-faced assumption. The state convention was called to put down the caucus. Why then should the convention hesitate for a moment in the resolution submitted by the gentleman from Albany? Shall we hesitate to denounce what the people have denounced? During the past year, popular meetings had been called in every part of the state, in relation to the electoral bill. The whole caucus system had been execrated deep from the hearts of the people. A tone of indignation and disgust against it had gone forth in the land. It could no longer stand. Public sentiment was apparent, and general condemnation palpable.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Haines appealed to the convention. He appealed to the candour and good sense of those who composed it. Men sat there with their pens in their hands, to send forth to the state and to the Union, the proceedings of that body. Shall it be published to the world, that a political tyrant, with a thousand heads, had his friends, his advocates, his followers, his spies, his worshippers, in a state convention, called and assembled to put down this tyrant, whose power and very existence were every day becoming more and more odious? Was not settled and determined opposition to the caucus system the very foundation of the state convention? Gentlemen said, that they were opposed to caucuses; but that the resolution was premature. It was never premature in a free and deliberative body, to condemn, in bold and decided language, any thing which was at open war with the popular institutions of this country; which tended to weaken the love of the people for their form of government, and to render them less attached to its popular character. A caucus composed of legislators, is a body that tends to defeat the very end and being of our representative system.

It was a perversion, a gross and hardy perversion of delegated power. It was an abuse of authority temporarily surrendered, through popular suffrage, for given purposes. It was a self-created, intermediate body, standing between the people and the ballot-boxes, diverting the free-current of popular conviction from its natural channel. What would be said, if the judges of the supreme court of the United States should resolve themselves into a caucus, and promulgate decrees for the guidance of the nation? Would not popular indignation even burst the bounds of decorum, and demolish the court itself—one of the noblest and the proudest institutions in the county? What would be said if the heads of department, at Washington, should go into caucus, and give the people of the United States a president and vice-president; would not popular execration roll over their heads like a thunder-storm? What would be said, if the judges of our state courts constituted themselves into nocturnal cabals, and made governors for the people of the respective states; would not their robes be trampled on—their adjudications lose their authority? And yet their power to hold caucuses was as legitimately derived as the power of congress, or the power of the different state legislatures to do the same act. To legislate was one thing; to caucus another. To decide on the rights of persons, and the rights of things, fell to the judicial department; to select men to exercise political power, to pass laws, and to keep in operation our representative system, fell to the people in their primary and popular capacity. Our political and civil institutions were wisely and discreetly framed. The attachment of the people to these institutions was sincere, ardent, and high-toned. He who should lift an arm for their destruction, would be pursued and hunted down like the midnight incendiary. No man, and no body of men, could openly destroy them. As well might they attempt to

strike the sun from his path. Combined Europe would fail in an attempt to crush them. But their existence was in the love of that people who cherished them; and when the voice and influence of this people were destroyed, year after year, and generation after generation, by a system of intrigue and juggling; when all power was parcelled out or transferred by the cabals of the crafty, the wary, and the profligate; when the free exercise of suffrage was perpetually prevented by constant outrage on public opinion; when men were elevated to power, whose advancement was not desired by those whose affairs they administered; sooner or later we should feel some of those great convulsions which shake and destroy empires, and convert, all that is ancient, venerable, and sacred, to a dreary chaos. The people would not feel attached to institutions which were wise in theory, but obnoxious in practice, by the success of imposition, hypocricy, and selfishness. What then should be the great object of those who would guard them? They should endeavour to preserve their natural and simple operation. Let them move on unobstructed. Their tendency is well enough; they are safely constituted. Let them alone:—they will roll on, and roll on, grand and harmonious as that system of law and order that pervades the physical world. Stop one, and confusion is introduced. We must keep in operation one national government, and between twenty and thirty state governments. They all embrace the same people; they all operate on the same population. Let the people have light, and the free exercise of their rights, and alienation and popular disgust would not appear. Public abuses would find correction, and political impostors their proper level.

Mr. Haines trusted that the state convention would proclaim to the confederacy, that New-York was breaking the

chains with which she was encircled. A day of regeneration was dawning upon her. It was the last time that her vote in the presidential election would ever be thrown away. It was the last time her voice would fail of being heard in the choice of a chief magistrate of the Union. She turns with abhorrence from the men who have betrayed her. She awakes in the plenitude of her vast strength. She sleeps no more. She knows her enemies, and she knows herself. The Union will know and respect her hereafter. Her population is republican —her purpose firm—her intentions pure—her resolution taken. Eternal perdition then to that caucus system that has fettered, disgraced, and humbled her. Let the vote of this convention stamp it with lasting opprobrium, and the nation and posterity will give us thanks!

SECOND SPEECH.

Mr. Haines, the delegate from Richmond county, addressed the convention in reply to the gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Wheaton,) and the gentlemen from Orange, (Mr. Finch and Mr. Seward.) He regretted that any member had deemed it necessary to bring the present debate into the convention. It was unusual, novel, and could produce no satisfactory result. To discuss the political character of distinguished men; to point out their virtues, and display the lights and shades of their public lives; to trace back the stream of political history, and recall things that were long since forgotten in the general forgetfulness of party strife, could answer no salutary end. The convention had continued in session a reasonable time; there had been a perpetual interchange of views and sentiments; there had been meetings out of doors and within doors; constant communication had revealed every man's opinions, and a long, and perhaps a stormy debate could do nothing to clear the judgment, or to produce new convictions. But so it was. From pure motives, and no doubt for honest purposes, the convention had been addressed in a strain of plain and candid reasoning, by the distinguished member from Orange, a long-tried and undeviating patriot, and this appeal had been followed by an elaborate speech from the gentleman who composed one of the

delegation from New-York, constituting an attack on the political life of an individual. And what was demanded by the latter gentleman? He called on a large and overwhelming majority, to surrender their opinions to a palpable minority. One hundred and twenty-one delegates had assembled from more than fifty counties, and given a strong and decided vote for an individual; and Mr. Haines was astonished to hear that vote arraigned in the convention, as indicating a want of candour, of liberality, and patriotism. Whether such a course displayed candour, liberality, and patriotism in him who had thus reproached the convention, was respectfully submitted to the consideration of that body; something it certainly did exhibit—a want of parliamentary decorum. Much had been said of conciliation—of union—of the preservation of a great COMMON CAUSE, dear to the state of New-York; but to wave the flaming torch of war amid the cries for harmony, was not lighting up the paths that led to the gates of peace, and to the temple of concord.

Mr. Haines adverted to the call which produced the convention. It was not called to promote the interests and subserve the views of an individual. It was not personal aggrandizement that induced the republican members of the legislature to recommend to the counties to send delegates to Utica; it was to meet the exigencies of a great and alarming crisis in our political affairs; it was to redeem a state from political degradation; it was to wrest from the grasp of legislative usurpation the constitutional rights of a disfranchised people. The state of New-York presented a phenomenon; she had a representative government, and this government existing by the will of the people, was put in array against the people. It was nothing more nor less than the peoples' representatives at war with the people themselves. The state was conscious of

her disgrace. It was felt at home; it was seen abroad. For many years past New-York, with all her resources, with all her pride and jealousy of state rights, had been a secondary state in the confederacy. One year ago, the public mind was brought to an intense course of reflection on this subject. The people rose up like an overflowing multitude in some vast amphitheatre, and declared that New-York should assume her proper rank in the political concerns of the union. There was but one voice. Internal faction seemed to shrink away, for a season, appalled and disheartened. Instead of trusting one hundred and fifty men, composing the senate and assembly of the state, to appoint electors of president and vice-president for two hundred and sixty thousand free and independent voters, these two hundred and sixty thousand voters said, we will elect for ourselves. We can then neither be sold nor transferred, like mercenary troops under the beck of the holy alliance. The election came, and what was the result? Scarcely a senator or a member of assembly was returned without a pledge to pass the electoral law. We have heard of the majesty of the people: if it was ever put forth, it pervaded the state, and enchained the gaze of the union, in the fall of 1823. The elective authorities of the state assembled in January, 1824: and who wishes to retrace the steps that have led to the depths of degradation! Who wishes to travel through those dark windings, those disgusting scenes of political prostitution, which display the worst traits of human nature; that have barred a free and intelligent people of their undoubted constitutional rights? The influence of New-York was sacrificed. Men broke their pledges, deceived their constituents, betrayed their trust, violated their duty, and virtually rendered the vote of the state the object of political bargain and arrangement. These things the republican members, who called the state convention, plainly saw.

They heard a decree from a legislative caucus at Washington, that the union should take this man for president, and this for vice-president: another decree was heard from a legislative caucus at Albany, that New-York should take this man for governor, and this for lieutenant-governor. Something was to be done. This state of things demanded an extraordinary movement. A state convention, to be composed of delegates elected by the people, by the fifty-four counties of the state, was the expedient resorted to by those who sought to redeem and purify. The people approved of the recommendation, and more than fifty counties were there represented.

What now is the duty of this convention? With the recommendation of an electoral ticket, we have no concern. New-York will never have a voice in the choice of a president and vice-president, until the privilege of voting is brought home to the people. The recommendation of suitable candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor is now the only duty which devolves upon us. The delegates assembled in that body had come from every quarter of the state. It was one of the most respectable deliberative assemblies that the state had ever witnessed. It embraced the wisdom and experience of age, and the weight of wealth and talents. To select men equal to the occasion; to fix on men uniting capacity, energy, and popular confidence, was the great point. How was this to be done? By surveying the political map of the state; by taking into view the feelings and wishes of the people of the various counties represented in the convention; by casting an eye on the past and the future, and then deciding as public duty required. It was not every man who could preside over the affairs of a great commonwealth with competent ability. To guide the fortunes of a state filled with

nearly two millions of people, animated by intelligence, and borne on by enterprise; to concentrate and direct her energies to specific and salutary objects; to kindle her emulation, expand her views, and reveal her resources, and at the same moment to improve her civil institutions, cultivate her moral and social relations, and preserve her integrity and influence in the union, fell not to the powers of an ordinary individual. There was a great statesman in retirement. His character was untarnished, his spirit bold, his energies unbroken. His mind preceded the march of the age, and anticipated the views, the wishes, and the wants of posterity. His fame filled a great space, and would fill a greater one, as prejudice lost its perverted vision, and envy and selfishness ceased to prosecute a vindictive war on worth and glory. The convention by an informal vote, and by a large majority, had fixed its wishes on this statesman, and De Witt Clinton would be recommended as a suitable man to govern the state of New-York. In selecting him, the majority had been influenced by considerations that related not only to his former policy while he administered the government, but to our present condition, and to our future welfare. Every thing had been weighed; many names had been presented as candidates; their talents and their virtues had been discussed and acknowledged, and the result had been witnessed; honest conviction pointed to Mr. Clinton, as the proper man to unite public confidence and popular suffrage.

But, said Mr. Haines, the gentleman from New-York assails this preference, and not only this, but he assails Mr. Clinton also, and arraigns and condemns his political character. We are told that we must give him up. Supplication, persuasion, and menace, are all resorted to at the same moment. Protests and secessions are threatened. Three heavy

charges are brought against the candidate of the majority: he is not a republican; he opposed the war; and he will distract the people's party, or, in other words, break down the party that has contended for the passage of the electoral law. And were these charges well grounded, and did they rest on facts? It was unpleasant to detain the convention by a reference to political history; but when a distinguished man is unjustly assaulted in his public reputation, it was the duty of his friends, and the friends of truth, to put down his opponents. It was not denied that Mr. Clinton was a distinguished republican in 1798, and 1800. It was not denied that he sustained Mr. Jefferson's administration, throughout its whole course, with zeal, ability, and effect. The gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Wheaton) had not gone further back than 1807, when he said Mr. Clinton opposed the embargo. Mr. Haines regretted that a little more reliance on the chain of political events, had not been deemed necessary in making this specification under a general charge. In 1807, Mr. Clinton was the chairman of the great republican meeting in the Park in the city of New-York, that denounced the outrages of the British government, and pledged a vigorous support of Mr. Jefferson's administration. In 1808, he was again chairman of a great republican meeting in the same city, and that meeting was called to afford support to all the measures of the general government, including the restrictive system, and, of course, the embargo. During the same year, he introduced a law into the legislature of New-York to grant one hundred thousand dollars for the fortification of the harbour of New-York; and in 1809, he introduced a set of spirited resolutions into the senate of this state, pointing to war as the only remedy for the outrages of England, and denouncing the measures of the opposition party in New-England. Where then are the proofs that Mr. Clinton opposed the embargo? Where

are the proofs that he departed from what has been termed, republican grounds? But, says the gentleman from New-York, Mr. Clinton opposed the war. Where, when, and how? Mr. Haines regretted that he and the gentleman from New-York, differed so widely as to facts. War was declared in June, 1812, against Great Britain. Mr. Clinton was then mayor of the city of New-York; and would the gentleman from New-York deny, that in July, 1812, Mr. Clinton charged the grand jury of that metropolis, and strongly inculcated a bold and vigorous support of the war? Would it be denied that in 1813 he presided over the board of fortifications to protect the city of New-York? That in 1814, as chief magistrate of that city, he put forth one of the most eloquent and forcible appeals in favour of the war, that ever appeared from any public functionary?* Would it be denied, that during this same year, when a dark and gloomy crisis hung over the country, Mr. Clinton moved the common council of the city of New-York to loan the general government one million four hundred thousand dollars? Would it be denied, that Mr. Clinton, with his own hands, worked on the fortifications of Brooklyn heights to protect the commercial metropolis of the state? Would it be denied that in 1814, having been previously appointed a major-general in the militia of the state of New-York, he requested of governor Tompkins, through that

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* Extract from Mr. Clinton's address to the citizens of New-York, Aug. 14, 1814. "The times are portentous. Shall we, at a moment like this, when our all is in jeopardy, refrain from calling into requisition all the force of our city, for a firm and manly resistance? Shall we refuse to sacrifice our time, our labour, our exertions, and property, or even our lives, if necessary, to protect our city, and place it in a state of security? Let there be but one voice among us. Let every arm be raised to defend our country, with humble reliance on the God of our fathers. Our country demands our aid; she expects that every man will be found at his post in the hour of danger, and that every citizen will do his duty." So this was opposing the war!

great and illustrious man, Thomas Addis Emmet, an active command in the service of the country, and would have obeyed the military orders of any superior placed over him? Had any man forgotten his eloquent addresses to the officers of the army and navy, during the war? What more could Mr. Clinton have done? He counselled, he spoke, he acted, he worked, he did every thing but fight, and it was party management that precluded him from doing this. How uncandid, how unfair, how unjust then to talk of Mr. Clinton's opposing the war. Facts which must sooner or later be embodied in history, will roll back the tide of calumny on those who send it forth. (a)

But, says the gentleman from New-York, Mr. Clinton was a candidate for the presidency in 1812. And what then? Had it become a crime in our free representative government to receive the suffrages of the people for an office? Mr. Haines said, that he had no vote in 1812, and of course no participation in that great contest; but he well remembered, that all his feelings were against Mr. Clinton. The effort was unsuccessful, and therefore, in the cant of the day, constituted an unpardonable offence. But who supported Mr. Clinton? The state of New-York—the GREAT REPUBLICAN PARTY of the state of New-York. Mr. Clinton was the man of the state. He was her pride, and her candidate; as much so as ever Mr. Jefferson, or Mr. Madison, was the boast of Virginia. But why had this national election been called up at this moment? To show that Mr. Clinton did not deserve the confidence of a state convention in 1824. And who supported Mr. Clinton? The gentleman from New-York had passed an eulogium on Colonel Young: where was he in 1812?

(a) For proof of the facts here mentioned, see appendix

The open supporter of Mr. Clinton for the presidency. Where was Martin Van Beuren? Thundering in the capitol at Albany in favour of Mr. Clinton's election. Where was Governor Yates, who two years ago received the unanimous vote of the republican party for the first office in the state? Governor Yates was at the head of the electoral ticket. Mr. Haines said, that he saw many distinguished federalists, in what are called the republican ranks. Their political regeneration had been a silent operation, without the aid of miracles. All this he did not censure: he was glad to see liberality and toleration in any quarter.

The convention had heard much about harmony. There were great apparent efforts for a perfect union. *Any man but Mr. Clinton,* says the gentleman from New-York. This was commencing for union, by the proscription of an individual. The convention is told, that we may have Mr. Clinton's nearest friend. They had been offered, in the course of the debate, Henry Huntington, John W. Taylor, and James Tallmadge. These gentlemen, it is said, will not distract the republican party, because they had not Mr. Clinton's political sins—his great sin being opposition to the war, by running for the first office in the union. Now it did so happen, that these three gentlemen supported Mr. Clinton's election in 1812, with zeal and effect. In 1817, they, together with Colonel Young, Martin Van Beuren, and others who are now most orthodox, supported Mr. Clinton for the office of governor. Yet we are told, that all these gentlemen are pure and upright in the republican phalanx, and Mr. Haines did not dispute it; but he did question the novel doctrine, that what was criminal conduct in one man, was political purity in another. (b)

(b) Vide appendix.

It was not questioned, that Mr. Clinton was sincerely attached to the republican institutions of the country; it was not denied that he was a friend to the union, and a friend to wholesome laws and to social order; and as to party aberrations, Mr. Haines had said enough on that point.

But the gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Wheaton) assumes another ground; the nomination of Mr. Clinton, it seems, will break down what is called the people's party; a party which sprang up in consequence of their support of the electoral law, and their opposition to the odious caucus system. The state was now divided into two great parties; there were the caucus party, and the people's party. And why would Mr. Clinton's nomination break down the people's party? The gentleman from New-York says, that he and the gentleman from Orange, (Mr. Finch) had served together two hard political campaigns in defence of the people's rights. By this he meant, that during two meetings of the legislature, they had gloriously contended for the electoral law. Mr. Haines admitted it. They deserved well of the state, and would deserve well of posterity. It was the first time he had ever seen the venerable and long-tried patriot from Orange. He respected and admired him. With pride and pleasure he had perused his eloquent speech recently made in the legislature, in defence of the electoral bill. It reflected credit on his mind, and on his heart. But while he would disdain to wrest the laurels from the brow of others, he could not see extraordinary merit passed heedlessly over in the ardour of debate. Mr. Clinton's nomination break down the people's party! Let the convention recur to facts. Let the political annals of the state of New-York be consulted. In 1799, we had an electoral law, and the people voted in the choice of a president and vice-president. That year it was repealed. Mr. Clin-

ton was in the state senate. Twenty-eight voted for the repeal, and four against it. Mr. Clinton was one of the four. So said the journals of the senate. Here then was the beginning of our troubles, and he was faithful to popular suffrage. In 1802, being still in the senate of this state, he proposed a resolution amending the constitution of the United States. He contemplated a uniform district system throughout the union. The people were to vote for electors by districts. These resolutions passed unanimously in both branches of the legislature. In 1804, he was a member of the United States senate. There again he was faithful to popular rights. He called up and advocated an amendment of the constitution, transferring the choice of electors from legislative caucuses to the people themselves. In 1820, when all was calm and unruffled, and the election of Mr. Monroe passed by as a kind of political pageantry, Mr. Clinton, as the chief magistrate of the state of New-York, called on the legislature in strong and decided terms to pass an electoral law, precisely like the one now contended for and desired by the people—trusting every thing to a general ticket. He depicted, as with the foresight of a prophet, our present degraded condition, if the law should not be passed. He foretold the degradation of the state. But she slept over her impending disgrace, and the bitter fountain is now pouring forth its waters. Here, then, for twenty-five years Mr. Clinton had advocated an electoral bill. Long before the people's party had existence, and long before the great common cause for which we are now contending swept along the hearts of the people like a torrent, gathering strength from a thousand hills, Mr. Clinton led the way in the assertion of those principles that now constitute the deep and unshaken basis of the people's party. It was preposterous then to say, that the nomination of Mr. Clinton would destroy it. If faithful to its principles, and to its object, the members of

this party would gather round him with gratitude and enthusiasm, and bear him in triumph to the chair of state. He would prove the conservator of the cause. Under his administration this law would be passed. So thought the majority of the convention ; and no appeal, no menace had yet touched their hearts with compunction or fear.

But, said Mr. Haines, this convention has not been governed in its preference by these considerations alone. It is not Mr. Clinton's early republican principles,—his energy, consistency, and effectual services during the late war, and his long and persevering support of that great common cause here spoken of so frequently, that alone carry along a sweeping majority in his favour. Claims are preferred to our confidence and support, derived from other sources. For five years he administered the government of New-York, and if the existence of states and commonwealths had ever afforded a period on which the human mind delighted to repose for example, for instruction, and delight, the administration of Mr. Clinton presented such an era. Agriculture, the foundation of national wealth and national strength, cherished and advanced ; commerce, inland trade, and exchange promoted on a magnificent scale ; the useful arts and mechanical ingenuity extensively fostered ; laws amended and improved ; seminaries of learning built up—new foundations laid and old ones extended ; common schools augmented in number and elementary instruction diffused ; benevolent and humane institutions countenanced and cherished ; public expenditures greatly reduced, by changing the mode of administering criminal justice, and by other improvements; talents sought out and rewarded ; party hostility and political persecution set at defiance; the proscription lists of faction disregarded; and

above all, the union of the states, the alliance of the east and the west, rendered more firm and lasting. These are some of the grand characteristics of an administration that will yet be presented for the imitation and praise of after times. Every man can draw its portrait, for its features are bold, strong, and original.

Posterity, said Mr. Haines, will not credit the transactions of this day, in this assembly. They cannot participate in the petty passions, the local views, and the fleeting combinations that have found their way into this public body; and they will be slow in admitting facts which degrade those whose blood must mingle with their own. They will not believe that one of the greatest benefactors that has ever contributed to the resources and happiness of a state, reaped detraction, denunciation, and bitterness, in a deliberative assembly, constituted by the people, blessed and rendered prosperous by his labours and his sacrifices. It will not be easily credited, that in a body of delegates, appointed by independent electors in more than fifty counties, that a man was presented to their consideration for a popular office, in whom were united splendid talents, immense acquirements, remarkable forecast, great experience, and unwearied zeal, whose public life was without reproach, whose private character was without a stain, and who nurtured an ambition alone identified in its asperations with the prosperity and glory of the state; that that man was De Witt Clinton; and still that there was a debate on the propriety of recommending him as worthy of public confidence;—and more than this, that a minority called on a great and imposing majority to discard and virtually denounce him! Yet such was the political phenomenon that day displayed. A phenomenon to be classed with those extraordinary and humiliating spectacles that now and then appeared in cities, communities,

and great empires, in the proscription of extraordinary men; when reason, candour, truth, justice, reflection, pride, and even self-respect, gave way to the bad passions of our nature.

De Witt Clinton! His public services have been worth millions to the state of New-York. For twenty-five years he has been a faithful public servant. We have seen him in the assembly and the senate of this state, an able and indefatigable legislator. We have seen him in our court of errors an independent, learned, and accomplished jurist. We have seen him in congress, a senator worthy of New-York. For the last ten years he has employed his time and his abilities in a work that will be gazed on with pride, delight, and wonder, while human wisdom and public policy have a monument remaining on the face of the globe. The great western canal stretches from the sea to the lakes, rousing enterprise, industry, and competition—pouring wealth into our treasury, bringing us the trade and commerce of the union; its waters covered with the products of all climates, and all soils—building up towns, villages, and cities, and multiplying the blessings of civilization and refinement. Its vast and complicated advantages no mind can compute. They seem to run into all the departments of political economy, and sensibly affect the destinies of the union. And in the youth of our republican institutions, while we give way to that enthusiasm which is naturally awakened in the soul of a people at the unclouded prospect of future greatness; shall ingratitude, that proverbial curse of popular governments, freeze our hearts and disgrace our annals? Is New-York prepared to commit another political felony at noon-day, that the execrations of the union may again pour upon her head? Where is her ancient pride; where the recollection of her well-earned renown; where the memory of her great men, and of their illustrious deeds?

Mr. Haines admitted, that it was now difficult justly to appreciate Mr. Clinton's services, as well as the services of those who acted with him in producing the commencement and completion of the New-York canals. The human mind often becomes incredulous in retracing the steps which have led to gigantic works, more especially where every thing is simple and practicable. To connect the ocean and the lakes is now deemed an easy matter. We wonder that the project could have met with a systematic, unblushing, and vindictive opposition. New-York, in point of resources, is now an empire. Her credit is wealth, and this credit boundless. Her monied men stand ready to loan millions at an interest below the legal rate. She is willing to connect lake Erie with the Ohio and with the Missisippi. But how was it twelve years ago? How was it seven years ago? To connect the Atlantic ocean with the western lakes was then preposterous. Its projected commencement was too soon, by one hundred years. It would cost fifty millions of dollars, and fifty years of labour, combine all the force we could. It was scouted in the money market, and derided out of it. It was to ruin the lands of the farmers, grind down the merchants by taxes, and crush the credit of the state. Aid was sought from the general government. It was denied. New-York appealed to her sister states. She received nothing but discouragement in return. Now then, let this question be put to the convention, and let every member ponder well upon it: Suppose at this period, De Witt Clinton had stood forth and denounced the project of the Great western canal? Suppose he had proclaimed his apostacy, and confessed to the world, that romantic folly and misguided ambition had involved him in a hopeless and ruinous scheme? It might not have shaken a few bold spirits, who with him had been pioneers in the stupendous undertaking; but what would a divided legislature have said? What would a doubt-

ing and hesitating people have said? What would the *Canal opposition* have said? Mr. Haines left it to the convention to calculate the consequences. Mr. Clinton held a very different language. His name was a host. His popularity great. He came to the chair of state by a unanimous vote. On the practicability of the canals he hazarded all—present, past, and future. Justice, then, to whom justice is due. Gratitude, where gratitude is demanded. Confidence, where confidence has ever been safely placed. Let us hear nothing about opposing the war, and breaking down the people's party, by way of set-off, when we estimate Mr. Clinton's canal services.

Other names than Mr. Clinton's were before the convention. Ambrose Spencer would fill a wide space in our history. Great native powers—extraordinary energy of character—rare depth of intellect—profound research—zeal, devotion, and unbending integrity in the discharge of elevated public duties, had long since rendered him an ornament to the state of New-York and the nation. John W. Taylor had been known for twenty years as an honest, able, and faithful statesman, possessing great moral worth, and uncommon experience in public affairs. James Tallmadge united to brilliant talents, important past services in the cause of the people. Henry Huntington was an upright, honest, intelligent man. But the convention, for a great variety of reasons, had preferred Mr. Clinton; and it was no reproach to his distinguished competitors that this preference had been manifested.

Mr. Haines then appealed to the candour of the minority of the convention. Had not the charges against Mr. Clinton been fully met and refuted? What then remained to be answered? Nothing. There was nothing alleged against a long and arduous life, filled with great events and great vicis-

situdes. And as for private character, calumny had ever been stayed at the threshold of his door. Amid the wasting fires of persecution, he had invited the severest test that political hostility and personal envy could prescribe; he had dared discussion in every shape, and in every mode, which ingenuity, sharpened by disappointment, or urged on by ambition, could invent. And what was the result? The display of an example worthy of Roman virtue, in the brightest days of the Republic. It was not denied that his past administration was unrivalled in utility. It was not denied that his future measures would be equally salutary. It was not denied that he had the talents, the energy, the firmness, the perseverance, and the zeal, and patriotism ascribed to him. Why then should not the majority call on the minority to give up *their* several candidates, and support the one designated by the majority, by a unanimous vote?

Much was said about crushing a dangerous faction. The "*Regency House*" was to be razed to the ground. The palace of "*King Caucus*," was to be stormed, and his throne overturned. In every quarter of the union his power was assailed by the friends of the constitution, and the friends of a pure and unshackled exercise of popular suffrage. It was, indeed, time that all honest men should unite to put down a system which had actually become dangerous to the peace and liberties of the country. It was in the state of New-York that a great battle was soon to be fought. Who then was to lead the way? The man who united talents, energy, resolution, and popular confidence, to a greater extent than any other. That man had been fixed on. Amid prosperity and adversity he stood firm, unshaken, and the same. No crisis, however dark—no combination, however profligate and powerful—no faction, however desperate and well disciplined, had

ever prevented him from pursuing his march, fearless, intrepid, and faithful to his friends and his country. Union, concert, and fidelity would render his election certain. To the peoples' party it would prove a glorious triumph. To the state of New-York it would prove the return of forfeited fame, the renewal of a grand system of public policy, the respect of the nation, and the long enjoyment of peace and prosperity. Elevated to the first office in their gift, Mr. Clinton would cast himself upon the people. His whole life indicated an unhesitating confidence in their uprightness and honesty. Give them light, and give them power. This was the theory of our government. If the principle was not sound, the whole political system was bad. But it was sound, and would be adopted.

In conclusion, Mr. Haines said, that he called on the firm to be firm still, the vigilant to continue vigilant, and the wavering to dismiss their fear. One bold effort, and all would be safe. Victory was certain. It would prove one of those grand moral results that cheered the hearts of all honest men, and gave fresh hope of the long duration of our free systems of government. It would show, that after all, our constitutions nurtured a saving spirit, which, in evil times would come, as it were unseen and unheard, to our deliverance. It would teach us to cherish that Roman maxim, full of fortitude, heroism, and elevated sentiment, NEVER TO DESPAIR OF THE REPUBLIC.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE CONVENTION.

At a meeting of Republican Delegates of the several counties in the State of New-York, convened in the town of Utica, pursuant to the recommendation of the Republican Members of the Legislature of this State, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the office of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor: The Honourable John Tayler was called to the chair, and Alexander Coffin and Samuel Stevens, were chosen secretaries.

The delegates from the several counties who appeared, produced credentials, and took their seats as members of the convention, were as follows:

Albany—John Tayler, Geo. Merchant, Zina W. Lay.

Cayuga—John H. Beach, Charles Kellogg, Shearman Beardslee, Roswell Enos.

Courtlandt—John Miller, Henry Stevens.

Chatauque—Thomas R. Campbell.

Chenango—Obadiah German, Eben. Wakely, Noah Ely.

Clinton—Kinner Newcomb.

Columbia—Alexander Coffin, S. Ten Broeck, Joseph Lord.

Delaware—J. T. Moore, C. R. Fitch.

Dutchess—John Armstrong, jun., Arthur Smith, E. M. Swift, Wm. Taber.

Erie—Oliver Forward.

Essex—Geo. D. Simpson.

Genesee—Simon Cummings, Samuel Skinner, David Scott, I. Murdock.

Greene—Major Curtis, A. Van Bergen.

Herkimer—George Rosecrantz, Westel Willoughby, Samuel Dexter, jun.

Jefferson—Wm. D. Ford, George Andrus, Wm. Robinson.

Kings—Alden Spooner.

Lewis—Nathaniel Merriam.

Livingston—John Van Fossan, James Faulkner.

Madison—Garrit Smith, James Nye, Thomas Cox.

Monroe—E. S. Beach, A. Baldwin, H. Fellows.

Hamilton and Montgomery—H. F. Yates, S. Jackson, Fred. Fox, Alexander Sheldon.

New-York—William W. Todd, John Fream, Edmund Smith, R. S. Williams, E. Potter, J. Morss, Henry Wheaton, George Zabriskie, S. L. Gouverneur, Henry Mead.

Niagara—William Hotchkiss.

Oneida—George Brayton, David Pearson, David P. Hoyt, John Wescott, Aaron Barnes.

Onondaga—David Manro, Geo. Hall, Elijah Miles, Wm. Taylor.

Ontario—Wm. Kibby, Lemuel Chipman, Chester Loomis.

Orange—Samuel S. Seward, James Finch, Cala Reeves, A. L. Ball.

Oswego—Peter Pratt.

Otsego—Benjamin Huntington, John Russell, John Blakeley, Bela Kaple.

Putnam—Joseph Benedict.

Queens—Effingham Lawrence, Robert Townsend.

Rensselaer—John Willard, Nathan Howard, Wm. M'Manus, Wm. Palmer.

Richmond—Charles G. Haines.

Rockland—Peter S. Van Orden.

Saratoga—John Viele, John Rogers, jun., Thaddeus Scribner.

Schenectady—Samuel W. Jones.

Schoharie—Jacob Gebhard, Ralph Manning.

Seneca—Andrew Glover, A. Boardman.

Steuben—Daniel Cruger, Ira Davenport.

St. Lawrence—David C. Judson.

Suffolk—Charles T. Deering, D. T. Gillet.

Sullivan—Thos. S. Lockwood.

Tioga—G. H. Barstow, Jesse Carpenter.

Tompkins—Nich. Townley, Hermon Camp.

Ulster—Jacob J. Hasbrouck, Samuel Stilwell, Jacob H. De Witt.

Warren—Moody Ames.

Washington—Chs. Rogers, Saml. Stevens, John M'Lean, Jesse S. Leigh.

Wayne—Russel Whipple, John Tibbets.

Westchester—Lyman Cook, John Owens, Geo. N. White.

Resolved, That this convention unanimously recommend to the people of this state, that they vote for De Witt Clinton, governor of the state of New-York at the November election, and for James Tallmadge, lieutenant-governor.

On motion of Mr. Van Fossan, of Livingston, *Resolved*,

That a committee of five be appointed to prepare an address to the people of this state. Garrit Smith, of Madison, Obadiah German, of Chenango, C. G. Haines, of Richmond, John Armstrong, jun., of Dutchess, and Samuel Stevens, of Washington, were appointed.

On motion of Mr. Barstow, of Tioga, *Resolved*, That this convention disapprove of all nominations of candidates for elective offices, by members of the legislature, in as much as it is an assumption of power not delegated to them by the people. Unanimously carried.

On motion of general Gebhard, of Schoharie, *Resolved*, That this convention disapprove of the present mode of appointing justices of the peace, and that it be recommended to the people of this state, that in selecting candidates for the senate and assembly in November next, they act with a reference to such an amendment to the constitution of this state, as will place the appointment of justices with the people.

On motion of Mr. Benedict, of Putnam, *Resolved*, That a corresponding committee be appointed to correspond with the several counties of this state. Mr. Merchant, of Albany, Mr. Tayler, of Albany, Mr. Haines, of Richmond, Mr. Jones, of Schenectady, Mr. Viele, of Saratoga, and Mr. Stevens of Washington, appointed.

On motion of Mr. Robinson, of Jefferson, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the people of the several counties of this state, to assemble in their respective counties, immediately on the adjournment of this convention, to act upon its proceedings as submitted to their will.

On motion of Mr. Haines, of Richmond, *Resolved unanimously*, That the thanks of this convention be returned to the venerable John Tayler, for the dignity and impartiality with which he has presided over the deliberations of this body, and that he carries with him to the bosom of his family, our confidence, our esteem, and our warmest wishes for his happiness, and for the continuance of his long and useful life. The venerable president arose, and in a most impressive manner, enjoined union, harmony, and activity, in carrying into execution the proceedings of the convention, and took leave of his fellow-citizens.

Mr. Garrit Smith, of Madison, from the committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following address, which was unanimously adopted by the convention:

ADDRESS.

The delegates appointed by the people of the several counties of the state of New-York, to recommend a suitable electoral ticket for president and vice-president of the United States, and also to recommend suitable candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor of the state of New-York, at the ensuing November election, beg leave to address their fellow-citizens, and to communicate the result of their proceedings.

They have refrained from recommending an electoral ticket. The fate of the electoral law, is well known to the people. Two hundred and sixty thousand freemen have been prevented from going to the ballot boxes, to manifest their voice in the election of a president and vice-president of the United States. It would be idle and preposterous to recommend candidates to disfranchised men. The means by which the passage of the electoral law has been defeated; the disgraceful

expedients to which a political junto in this state have resorted, in order to prevent the restoration of the people's rights, are too well known to require elucidation. The state of New-York,—the first in population, the first in commerce, the first in wealth and resources, possessing her full portion of talent, and deeply interested in the administration of our national government, is deprived of her just influence in the union, and degraded and disgraced by a political party, controlled by a cabal of aspiring and desperate politicians, in her own bosom. Let the people judge of the claims of these men and their party to public confidence and support. The humiliating condition of the state of New-York is chargeable at their hands. It is to be hoped that the fact will be remembered at the polls in November next.

On the subject of recommending suitable candidates for the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor, the convention has acted. It was naturally expected, that in designating for the consideration of the people, a suitable candidate for the next chief magistrate of this state, a difference of opinion would exist. One hundred and twenty-one delegates, coming from more than fifty counties, embracing a great extent of territory, and a great variety of popular feelings and popular opinions, presented different views and different convictions. Many candidates were proposed, possessing integrity, talents, and patriotism; and after a full and free public discussion on the floor of the convention; after a full and constant interchange of sentiments, the convention deemed it expedient and proper to recommend De Witt Clinton, for the next governor of this state. Of his talents, his long and faithful public services, his character, public and private, it is unnecessary to speak. They are well known to the people of this state. His late administration, at once connected with our prosperity

and glory, is well remembered; and the convention was induced to believe, that his future measures would be calculated to unfold the resources, and promote the permanent interests of the state. Much remains to be done, to place the state of New-York upon that proud and elevated eminence which she must ultimately reach. Mr. Clinton's boldness and comprehension of views, as well as his energy and decision of character, afford a sure pledge of what he will do and recommend, if elected to preside over our public affairs. Nor could the convention forget, that in 1802, he proposed an amendment of the constitution of the United States, in the senate of this state, that would have given to the people the choice of electors of president and vice-president, if it had been adopted. Soon after this period, he was elected to the senate of the United States, and there advocated the adoption of the same amendment. In 1820, being then governor of the state of New-York, he proposed to the legislature that a law be passed giving to the people the choice of electors by general ticket, and foretold those baneful consequences which we are now realizing, in case his recommendation should be neglected.

For lieutenant-governor, after mature deliberation, and an examination of the talents and claims of several distinguished men, to the second office in the gift of the people, the convention has thought it expedient to recommend general James Tallmadge. His talents are well known. He will preside over the senate with dignity and impartiality. His recent efforts in favour of the electoral law, in the popular branch of the legislature, have identified him with the cause of the people, and peculiarly endeared him to the democracy of the state; and should any circumstance render it necessary that the lieutenant-governor discharge the duties of the chief

magistrate, he will assume the responsibility, and execute the high trust with abilities equal to the station.

It is the fundamental principle of popular bodies, that the majority shall rule; that the minority shall accede to, and sustain in good faith and with efficient zeal, the decisions of the majority. It has already been stated, that there was a difference of opinion in the convention, as to the candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor; but there were strong and decided majorities for the respective candidates selected, and the resolution for their support and recommendation was unanimously adopted.

The convention trust that their proceedings will meet with general satisfaction among the people; and should there be any difference of sentiment, it is to be hoped that the minority will fall into the general current of popular opinion, and promptly aid in the common effort to ensure success in a common cause.

If ever there was a state, where political regeneration was demanded, it is required at the present moment in the state of New-York. The crisis is peculiar, and calls for bold and decided efforts. The power of the state must be wrested from those who have usurped and abused it. The people seem prepared for change. The convention have designated the candidates here recommended, with a view to regeneration and reform. To ensure their election; to ensure the success of the people's cause; to prostrate the "*Albany Regency*," and break down the caucus system, union, energy, and a concert of action, are vitally essential. Old prejudices—useless distinctions—selfish views, and local calculations, must give way to the common good. It is not the elevation of individuals,

but the triumph of righteous measures, that is sought. The election of individuals to distinguished and responsible posts, is subservient to this object. Let the people of the state of New-York, who have required the passage of the electoral law; let the independent electors who have already sought the overthrow of a junto in the heart of the state; let the friends of reform in every direction, rally under one common standard, and all is safe. The convention, composed of men from the different counties of the state, has enjoyed an opportunity of ascertaining the tone of public opinion. It is arrayed against the faction which has bound the state of New-York in ignominious chains; it is arrayed against the faction which has duped and deceived her; it is roused against the faction which opposed and betrayed the cause of the people. It is ardently then to be hoped, that the full and decided expression of this opinion, will be manifested at the ballot boxes in November next.

The convention cannot close this recommendation to the people, without noticing the candidates who stand opposed to the nomination which has been made.

First. They are the candidates of a faction—of a knot of men, who have separated themselves from the great body and interest of the people, and who, in the promotion of their selfish and nefarious schemes, throw off all dependence on the popular will, and all respect to the constitution. What bolder and more profligate abuse of power could they be guilty of, than in their defeat of the electoral bill? The passage of that bill was required by the express and almost unanimous will of the people, and by the plain letter of the federal constitution.

Second.—The one of these candidates is still, and has been throughout, an open, violent, and persevering opposer of the electoral bill; whilst the other, not less unprincipled, but with more of a jesuit's cunning, studies to pursue in this matter, a half disguised equivocal course, which, if it does not give him positive favour with both parties, may, at least, save him from being blamed by either.

Third.—The one of these candidates is habitually intemperate; a scoffer at the Christian religion; and, through his talents and official influence, deplorably successful in contaminating public morals. And is it not more than the *mere misfortune* of the other candidate, that he is found in such company?

Fourth.—Were the merits and qualifications of these candidates quite unexceptionable, yet, the manner in which they are brought before the public, is a conclusive reason against the support of them. A state legislative caucus, like a caucus of the national legislature, is at war with all the rights and doctrines of democracy. It is an usurpation which degrades the people into mere *counter-signers* of their masters' mandates, and cheapens their free and intelligent suffrages into objects of barter and sordid calculation. It is an imposing ceremony, got up to drive the great body of the people into submission to a few, and made effectual through the authority and dreaded proscriptions of those who officiate in it. Public opinion will not permit another congressional caucus; and may no future members of our state legislature, presume to substitute their intrigues and dictations for the free, spontaneous expressions of the sovereign people.

Fellow-citizens! Other candidates are now presented to

you; not by persons elected to legislate for you, but by a convention of delegates coming directly and fresh from yourselves, and chosen by you for this specific and only purpose. The ballot boxes will testify, which you think the better men, and which the mode of nomination most in character with genuine republicanism.

The conduct of the dominant faction in this state, is so well understood, and excites such universal alarm and indignation, that this convention deems it superfluous to array before you the many existing inducements to an energetic and faithful discharge of your duty. Suffice it to say, that the present is clearly a contest between the friends and the foes of democratic principles; between freemen, who are determined that freemen shall govern, and a band of home-tyrants, who are determined to govern the people. What will be the issue, if we act unitedly, is not doubtful:—but should we forget, that this is a contest for *measures*, and fall into disagreement about *men*, we shall not only then fail of success, but we shall richly deserve the chains and disgrace that are upon us.

John Tayler, *Chairman.*
Samuel Stevens, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The following documents, selected from many others of a similar description, clearly show to every candid man the conduct of De Witt Clinton, during the late war with Great Britain, and his course during the existence of the measures adopted by the general government, immediately preceding that struggle. For twenty-five years Mr. Clinton has been in public life, and as no ground for censure during all that period can be found by his enemies, and as his private life is irreproachable, they have been driven to the cry of *opposition to the war*. Two things are certain: If Mr. Clinton had not been voted for president in 1812, and failed in his election, we never should have heard the calumny, that he *opposed the war*. He would then have been hailed as one of its most efficient supporters, by the very men who now accuse him of little less than high-treason—for these men are your hungry office-seekers and profligate demagogues, who fawn about men in power.

In the state convention, Mr. Clinton had an overwhelming majority over all other candidates united, and so the old *war*

song was revived and sung again. But what is very remarkable, nothing was said of the *Hartford convention.* Mr. Clinton is generally accused by disappointed office-seekers, and men who want to keep him down, of having been intimately connected with this body, in his support for the presidency. It is true he ran for president in 1812, and the Hartford convention sat in 1815. But no matter for this; he is very often called the *Hartford convention candidate.* It is unnecessary to speak of that body here; but down to the close of the war, Mr. Clinton laboured night and day to strengthen the arm of the general government, and to promote a glorious triumph of our arms. He felt the fire and valour of his venerable father in the revolution, General JAMES CLINTON;—another name for hardy and daring heroism;—and of his uncle GEORGE CLINTON, the patriot without fear and without reproach. Mr. Clinton wanted to fight; but he was kept out of the field. Let Mr. Emmet's letter be read again and again. Yet say his traducers, he *opposed the war!*—It is time that De Witt Clinton was treated with justice. His friends ask nothing more. Let him be treated like other men—that is all his friends require. It is time facts were spoken of as facts, relating to this statesman. It is time truth was acknowledged, and considered as truth.

(A)

The following facts are matter of history. They comprise a vindication that no man can question. They are taken from the State Address, *signed by William James, Chairman, and Joseph York, Secretary, in* 1820. *Let them be read, and let the reader ponder!*

The late war grew out of the sanguinary aggressions of Great Britain, and may be dated from the cold-blooded attack on the Chesapeake. On the 2d of July, 1807, there was a great republican meeting in the city of New-York, to denounce the invasion on our rights, and rouse the American nation to a sense of their injury. De Witt Clinton was chairman.

De Witt Clinton was the chairman of the republican meeting called in New-York, on the 18th of July, 1808, to pass resolutions in approbation of the general government, in resisting the outrages of the belligerents.

In February, 1808, he introduced the law into our legislature, which granted $100,000 to fortify New-York, and prepare for war.

On the 26th of March, 1808, he introduced the resolution, which was unanimously adopted by the legislature, calling on the national government to provide for the defence of the seaboard.

On January 31st, 1809, he introduced a high-toned set of resolutions into the New-York senate, pointing to WAR, as the only remedy of British outrages, and denouncing those who were plotting a division of the union.

In March, 1811, he was nominated and elected lieutenant-governor, by the republican party—the friends of the war.

On the 9th of July, 1812, he being then mayor of the city of New-York, and it being after the declaration of war, De Witt Clinton came out in his charge to the grand jury, in which he urged the necessity of sustaining the war, and punishing and searching out traitors.

In November, 1812, De Witt Clinton was supported by the republican party of New-York, for the presidency of the United States. Joseph C. Yates, Simeon De Witt, Philip Van Courtlandt, George Rosecrantz, Jacob Delamontagnie, and other long-tried republicans headed the list of electors. The vigorous prosecution of the war, was the great reason urged for Mr. Clinton's election to the first office in the union, as appears by the address issued on that occasion. "*He enjoys*," says the address on that event, "*our utmost confidence. He inherits the blood, the principles, and the firmness of that* HERO, *whom ourselves and our fathers long delighted to honour; and who was the guide and guardian of our native state, when a British foe desolated our lands, and burnt our towns; who was never appalled in its utmost difficulties, and whose valour and wisdom eminently contributed to the ultimate triumph of America. His patriotic and inflexible principles guarantee a firm and unyielding maintenance of the sovereign rights of the United States.*

From his energy we anticipate vigour in WAR, *and a determined character in the relations of peace.*" Such was the language of the republicans of this state, at the darkest crisis of the war.

In the summer of 1813, De Witt Clinton presided over the board of fortifications around the city of New-York, and drew up the masterly report on the subject of the general defence. He worked with his own hands upon the fortifications.

In August, 1814, De Witt Clinton, as chief magistrate of the city of New-York, sent forth one of the most eloquent and energetic appeals to the people, in favour of the war, that ever appeared from any public functionary. He called on every patriot, to stand forth in the hour of peril, and reap victory or death in defence of his country. Let our fellow-citizens read the following words, taken from Mr. Clinton's address, and let them sink deep in their minds. "*The times,*" says he, "*are portentous—shall we, at a moment like this, when our all is in jeopardy, refrain from calling into requisition all the force of our city, for a firm and manly resistance? Shall we refuse to sacrifice our time, our labour, our exertions and property, or even our lives, if necessary, to protect our city, and place it in a state of security? Let there be but one voice among us. Let every arm be raised to defend our country, with humble reliance on the God of our fathers. Our country demands our aid—she expects that every man will be found at his post in the hour of danger; and that every free citizen will do his duty!*" Such was the language of the man, of whom we now have it said, he "*opposed the war!*"

On the 30th of August, 1814, De Witt Clinton drew up the CIRCULAR sent out by the Common Council of New-York, to obtain LOANS for *carrying on the war*. About this period, the bold and patriotic stand taken by De Witt Clinton, in the Common Council of the city of New-York, effected a loan of *one million four hundred thousand dollars*, for carrying on the war.

In July or August, 1814, he offered, through the interposition of Thomas Addis Emmet, the pride and ornament of his adopted country, to take an active command in the war; to draw his sword and shed his blood in the cause of his country. Mr. Emmet has recently published the fact to the world.

During the war, De Witt Clinton presented swords to Commodores Hull, M'Donough, Perry, and Decatur, and Generals Brown and Macomb; in which he expressed his pride and gratification at our splendid victories on the ocean and on the land, which elevated the character of the nation, and imparted glory to the war.

On the 25th of December, 1814, Daniel D. Tompkins, then governor of the state, returned thanks to the New-York corporation, of which De Witt Clinton was the head, for their prompt and efficient support of the war. The letters of James Madison, James Monroe, and the other heads of departments, during the war, breathe the same honourable testimony.

In 1817, he was elected governor of the state of New-York, and voted for by most of the *present office seekers*, who now denounce him for opposing the war, though his different ser-

vices in the great contest with England, were then admitted by these same self-created patriots.

What more could De Witt Clinton have done in support of the late war?

He did every thing but meet the foe with his sword in his hand. He offered to lead our brave troops—and it was political jealousy, and the apprehension of his rising greatness, that influenced Daniel D. Tompkins in refusing him the command of a Major-General, the rank he then held in our militia. We have here presented a mass of testimony, that no falsehood, that no party can destroy. It goes home to the bosoms of the people—it settles the point for ever, and appals desperation and calumny.

Secondly, Mr. Clinton has never made removals from office without cause. He has removed public servants for misconduct—and he has removed them where they used the countenance and support of the administration, to defeat its measures, and destroy its existence. In acting thus, he has followed the example of Thomas Jefferson, who swept the civil list of the nation. He has followed the steps of James Madison, John Jay, George Clinton, and Daniel D. Tompkins himself; who never spared any man in office who would not sustain his policy. Nor is that man a republican, who foments faction and anarchy—who, without cause or reason, denounces the government from whence he holds his political being.

Thus this single document contains in itself a refutation of all the charges brought against Mr. Clinton. It furnishes us with the *days* and *dates*, on which the most prominent acts

of his life were done in open day! Nay, in the very presence of men who have since denied them!!! So far is veracity, probity, and decency, trampled under foot, by the mercenary scramblers for the "loaves and fishes!"

(B)

MR. CLINTON IN 1809.

It was asserted in the state convention that Mr. Clinton opposed the embargo. The law laying the embargo was passed in 1807. *Hear what Mr. Clinton says, in* 1809, *two years after. As to the restrictive system, men may think of it as they please; but let truth and facts be kept in view.*

In Senate, January 31, 1809.

Mr. Clinton made a motion, that the senate should agree to the following resolutions, with their recitals—to wit:

" Whereas, the unjust and multiplied aggressions of the belligerent nations upon our national rights—their obstinate refusal to render justice, and listen to the most fair, friendly, impartial, and pacific overtures—and their unrelenting perseverance in a system of violence, rapacity, and insult, have rendered it the peculiar and incumbent duty of all good citizens, attached to the rights and honour of their country, to bury in oblivion all internal difference, and to rally round the standard of their government in opposition to the unjust pretensions, and atrocious outrages of foreign powers. And whereas, in defiance of every dictate of patriotism, and every consideration of duty, the most unremitted and reprehensible attempts are making, with uncommon industry and malignity, and by every art of misrepresentation, to enfeeble and destroy the exertions of the general government in vindicating our national rights and honours, by endeavouring to alienate the affections of the people, by opposing the authority of the laws,

and by menacing dismemberment of the union: and the legislature deeming it an indispensable obligation, at this critical and awful period, to discountenance daring and factious proceedings, and to bear testimony against the insolent encroachments of foreign nations; and being fully satisfied that the conduct of the general government has been calculated to secure the resources, to preserve the peace, to maintain the honour, and to promote the interests of our country—

"Therefore, if the honourable the assembly concur herein,

"*Resolved*, That we repose full confidence in the wisdom, patriotism, and integrity of the national administration, and that we will, at every hazard, and to the full extent of our faculties, support them against the unjust attempts of foreign powers; and if a state of peace shall be no longer a state of honour, and a continuance of aggression shall render an appeal to the sword inevitable, we pledge our lives and our fortunes in defence of the just rights of our injured country.

"*Resolved*, That we consider the union of the states as the palladium of our national safety, the guarantee of our national prosperity, and the pledge of our national glory—and that every attempt to violate or sever the ties which bind the confederated states together, ought to receive the most pointed reprobation, and the most decided abhorrence. And we earnestly exhort the good citizens of this state, to be vigilant and active in discountenancing and suppressing all combinations and attempts to evade or violate the laws, to detract from the authority of the government, and to impair the stability of the union: and we solemnly conjure them, by the sacred principles of liberty and patriotism, to prepare themselves for the crisis which is probably approaching, and to be ready to co-operate with each other, and with the constituted

authorities, in resisting and repelling the audacious aggressions of foreign nations.

"*Resolved*, That his excellency the governor, be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the president of the United States, as the sense of this state; and that our senators and representatives in congress, be hereby requested to use every exertion to put the United States in the best condition of defence, so that we may be fully prepared to meet the dangers which menace the peace of our country."

(C)

MR. CLINTON IN 1812.

War was declared in June, 1812. *Mr. Clinton was then mayor of the city of New-York. Hear what he said! Did he oppose the war? Did he oppose the government?*

"*Grand Jury Room, New-York, 12th July*, 1812.

"*Unanimously resolved*, That the foreman of this grand inquest be requested to obtain from his honour the mayor, a copy of his charge, as delivered yesterday, for publication.

"The foreman having performed the request above described, the enclosed copy was received from the mayor, and is accordingly sent for publication. By order of the grand jury.

"THOMAS STORM, Foreman.

"Attest, JOHN VAN BEUREN, Secretary."

"*Gentlemen of the Grand Jury*,

"Since the last term of this court, a new state of things has occurred, which has placed us in a belligerent position with one of the greatest powers of Europe. This event imposes new obligations on our citizens, the observance of which it becomes the duty of our courts and magistrates to enforce. The former freedom of communion and intercourse with a nation lately in amity, is now abridged; and acts heretofore not only lawful, but commendable, may now expose the agent to the charge of *treason, misprison of treason, or a high misdemeanour*. "Treason against the United States," says the constitution, "shall consist only in levying war against them.

or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." Treason against this state is committed by levying war against the people of this state, within this state, or by adhering to the enemies of the people of this state, giving to them aid and comfort in this state, or elsewhere. Misprison of treason, is the concealment or keeping secret any treason.

"Any offence against the laws of this state, connected with aid, comfort, or intercourse with the enemy, or with levying war against the people of this state, within this state, are proper subjects for your cognizance; and if, since the promulgation of the declaration of war, any offences of this kind have been perpetrated, it is your duty to present them for punishment. Considering the exposed situation of our maritime frontier, and the very critical situation of this port, it is peculiarly important to shut out from the enemy all means of intelligence: and that citizen must be lost indeed to every sentiment of virtue, who would embark his feelings and his efforts against his own country; who would give intelligence to the enemy, and expose the vulnerable points of a place in which are deposited the bones of his ancestors, and where reside his wife and children, his friends and fellow-citizens: and vile and ungrateful must be the alien, who would so far abuse our local or national hospitality, as to turn our indulgence to our own injury, and return curses for blessings, and evil for good. Our extensive Atlantic frontier, and our position with regard to the Canadas, not only expose us to the inroads and attacks of an enemy, but are peculiarly calculated to favour spies, and to encourage intelligence and communication adverse to the interests of the country, and repugnant to the laws of the land. Vigilance, determination, and courage, are therefore necessary to meet this exposure. It is

proper to remark, however, gentlemen, that there is but one justifiable mode of animadverting upon all aberrations from civil duty, and upon infractions of law: and that is through the medium of magistrates and courts. A state of war does not destroy or diminish the right of the citizen to examine the conduct of public men, and the tendency of the public measures. And if in the exercise of this right, he should deviate into slander or sedition, he is liable to punishment in the ordinary channels of justice. But there can be no state of things more deplorable, no condition of society more horrible, than to subject him to the fury of a mob, or to the vengeance of frantic and unprincipled incendiaries. It has reached the ears of the magistrates, but in the shape of rumour only, that menaces have been thrown out with a view to destroy that freedom of investigation which is the birth-right and the boast of every American citizen: and that abominable attempts would be made to invade the dwellings of individuals with the ruffian hand of violence; and to break down those barriers and asylums, which the laws had created, to secure the tranquillity of domestic life, and liberties of the people. It was impossible to remain insensible to the magnitude of the considerations involved in this state of things. The triumph of a mob over the majesty of the laws, would inflict a deadly wound upon the character and interests of the city; it would render the person and property of every man insecure; and it would degrade our republican form of government in the eyes of mankind. We have, therefore, prepared ourselves for the crisis; and, with the blessings of heaven, we shall not only suppress riotous assemblies, but we shall bring the authors and abettors to condign punishment. And as long as we occupy these seats, be assured, that we shall put down and punish, in the most exemplary manner, all attempts to invade the public peace, to destroy the lives and property of individuals, and to impair the freedom of opinion and inquiry."

(D)

Mr. CLINTON *and the Presidency.*—1812.

Mr. Clinton was supported by the great State of New-York for the Presidency in 1812.

He was brought forward, not by the federalists, *but by the* REPUBLICAN PARTY. *Martin Van Beuren, Roger Skinner, Samuel Young, John Woodworth, (now Judge of the Supreme Court,) Governor Yates, &c. supported him. Had he been elected, we should never have heard of his* "opposing the war!"

NOMINATION.

The Capitol in the City of Albany,
at the seat of Government of the State of New-York.

"At a full and general meeting of the REPUBLICAN members of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New-York, convened at the Capitol in the city of Albany, pursuant to public notice, on Thursday, the 28th of May, 1812, and continued by adjournment to the 29th.

"The Hon. JAMES W. WILKIN, Senator, *Chairman.*

"The Hon. ALEXANDER SHELDON, Speaker of the House of Assembly, *Secretary.*

"It having been moved and seconded, that this meeting proceed to nominate a suitable person to be supported by this state, and to be recommended to the sister states, for the office of president of the United States, at the next presidential election—

"The question was put and carried in the affirmative.

"Whereupon the following preamble and resolution were submitted to the consideration of the meeting:

"*Whereas*, The constitution of the United States, in express terms, prohibits the members of Congress to be the electors of the chief magistrate, because they are to be the judges of his election, and are to make choice by states, if there is none made by the electors; and because the president must be independent for his continuance in office, on all but the PEOPLE.

"And *whereas*, The constitution hath reserved to the states individually, the right of choosing the electors of president and vice-president, and hath regulated, that the electors shall vote in their respective states on the day, and within a short time after their appointment, to prevent any combination between the electors of the several states. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That in the exercise of those sacred rights, secured to us by the federal constitution, and which it is our duty to maintain, we recommend earnestly to the suffrages of the several electors who shall be chosen by the respective states, the Honorable De Witt Clinton, of the state of New-York, to fill the office of president of the United States, for four years from the third day of March next. And from our knowledge of his public virtues, eminent talents, and inflexible principles, we are satisfied that his elevation to that station will greatly promote the peace, the prosperity, and the permanency of the union.

"The said preamble and resolution being twice read, were

put by the chairman, and passed unanimously in the affirmative.

"It was thereupon moved, seconded, and carried unanimously, that a general committee of correspondence, consisting of seventeen members of the legislature, be forthwith appointed, to communicate with the different states throughout the union, upon the important subject before the meeting; and to adopt such measures in relation thereto, on behalf of the meeting, as in their judgment may be deemed proper: and that the following persons compose the said committee."

"Mr. Comstock, of the county of Seneca.
Mr. Bishop, of the county of Washington.
Mr. Wilkin, of the county of Orange.
Mr. Townsend, of the county of Steuben.
Mr. Allen, of the county of Ontario.
Mr. Smith, of the county of Herkimer.
Mr. Tabor, of the county of Dutchess.
Mr. Ely, of the county of Greene.
Mr. Bloodgood, of the county of Oneida.
Mr. Hubbard, of the county of Rensselaer.
Mr. Sheldon, of the county of Montgomery.
Mr. Yates, of the county of Schenectady.
Mr. Gilbert, of the city of New-York.
Mr. Taylor, of the city of Albany.
Mr. Ross, of the county of Orange.
*Mr. Taylor, of the county of Saratoga, and
Mr. Vanderveer, of the county of Kings.

"JAMES W. WILKIN, Chairman.

"ALEXANDER SHELDON, Secretary."

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* Hon. John W. Taylor.

"On the 9th of November, 1812, the following republican electors were appointed by the same republican legislature, at the capitol in Albany:

Joseph C. Yates, of Schenectady, (the present governor of New-York.)
Simeon De Witt, Archibald M'Intyre, of Albany.
John C. Hogeboom, of Columbia.
Gurdon S. Mumford, Jacob Delamontagnie, of New-York.
Philip Van Courtlandt, of West-Chester.
John Chandler, of Orange.
Henry Huntington, of Oneida, (last year nominated as the republican candidate for lieutenant-governor.)
John Woodworth, of Albany, (judge of the supreme court.)
George Rosecrantz, of Herkimer.
William Burnet, of Ontario.
David Boyd, of Schenectady.
Cornelius Bergen, of Kings.
Joseph Parmee, of Richmond.
Chauncey Belknap, of Orange.
John Dill, of Ulster.
David Van Ness, of Dutchess.
Robert Jenkins, of Columbia.
Michael S. Vandewater, of Rensselaer.
George Palmer, of Saratoga.
James Hill, of Washington.
William Kurby, of Essex.
Henry Frey Yates, of Montgomery.
Thomas H. Hubbard, of Madison.
John Russell, of Otsego.
James S. Knap, of Oneida.
Jotham Jayne, of Cayuga.
Jonathan Stanley, jun. of Onondaga."

(E)

MR. CLINTON IN 1814.

In 1814, *Mr. Clinton wished to enter the army, and draw his sword in support of the war. But he was not indulged in his wish. Let Mr. Emmet's letter be read again and again. No man dares deny the truth of what it states. Yet Mr. Clinton opposed the war! To what shameful acts will not faction resort!*

Copy of a letter from Mr. Emmet to John C. Spencer.

"*Albany, March 20th,* 1820.

"To the Hon. JOHN C. SPENCER, Speaker of the Assembly.

"SIR,

"I have this morning been honoured with your letter, requesting from me the information I may possess, respecting governor Clinton's applications, during the late war, to governor Tompkins, for an active command, and an opportunity to render his services in carrying on the war.

"Although I am, in general, unwilling to have my name introduced into public discussions, yet I have always held myself bound to give to governor Clinton, or to the vice-president, or to the friends of either of those gentlemen, as full a statement of what I know of that transaction, as my memory and the lapse of time will permit.

"In the summer of 1814, Mr. Clinton, who was then mayor of the city of New-York, requested me to be the bearer of

an application from him to governor Tompkins, to be called into active military service; and particularly as apprehensions then began to be entertained for the safety of the city over which he presided. I had previously understood, or was then informed, (and I cannot now say which,) that the late general Curtenius had informally suggested the same thing to governor Tompkins, but apparently without success. That circumstance, and the manner in which I was applied to, induced me to be very explicit in stating to governor Tompkins that I came directly from the mayor. At the same time I took the liberty of urging, from myself, such arguments as appeared to me best calculated to second the application. Governor Tompkins, as far as I now recollect, made but one objection. He said Mr. Clinton was a very young major-general, and very little known as such; and that calling him into service would be contrary to etiquette, and would probably offend older militia generals, whom he did not think it right or prudent to employ; some of whom he named to me.

"This application formed the subject of more than one conversation between governor Tompkins and myself; and I endeavoured to convince him that the situation of Mr. Clinton as mayor, and the confidence placed in him by the citizens of New-York, ought to have much greater weight than any military etiquette, at least in the selection of an officer for the defence of that city which then seemed to be very seriously threatened. Governor Tompkins did not refuse to comply with Mr. Clinton's application; but he seemed to hesitate so long and so much, that I considered it as virtually refused. After some time, however, and when affairs appeared to have grown more gloomy, his excellency, of his own accord, desired me to inform the mayor, that if the enemy landed in the vicinity of New-York, he should be employed as he solicited,

and to prepare himself accordingly. This message I immediately communicated to Mr. Clinton, who observed, that if his wishes were to be gratified, it certainly would be desirable that he should be appointed some time before the enemy's landing, that he might make the necessary previous arrangements; but he nevertheless desired me to inform the governor, that he should be prepared, and hold himself in readiness at a moment's notice whenever called upon. That message I accordingly delivered to governor Tompkins, and have never since heard any thing on the subject from either of those gentlemen.

"I have the honour to be, sir, with much respect,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "THOMAS ADDIS EMMET."

MR. CLINTON IN 1814.

Let those who have violated truth and decorum by assailing Mr. Clinton, read the following. It would have done honour to John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, or George Clinton.

"*Court of Sessions, September, 5th,* 1814.

"*Resolved,* That this grand jury fully approve of the patriotic sentiments delivered to them at the opening of the court, by his honour the mayor; and that a copy of the same be requested for the purpose of publication; and that they also concur in opinion with the court, as to the propriety of an adjournment at the present juncture of affairs."

"WM. BAYARD, Foreman.

"WM. LAWRENCE, Sec'ry."

ADDRESS.

"*Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,*

"The situation of our country renders it extremely necessary to devote our undivided attention to its protection. Duties of paramount obligation, will justify us in adjourning this court, in order that we may, with our best means, and to the full extent of our faculties, exert ourselves for the public defence. We shall, therefore, gentlemen, dispense with your further attendance; but we cannot permit this opportunity to pass by without exhorting you, and through you the great body of our fellow-citizens, to act with that wisdom and energy, with that fortitude and patriotism, which this most important crisis demands, and which the most sacred and imperious considerations require; an occasion so extraordinary will warrant a deviation from the usual routine of judicial proceedings, without implicating us in a violation of official decorum.

"Notwithstanding the dark cloud which hangs over our country, there is nothing in the events which have occurred, or in the prospect before us, which ought to create despair, if we are faithful to ourselves.

"The seat of our national government has been taken, and the enemy will no doubt follow up his advantage. But it is not here as it generally is in other countries. The fall of the capital will not produce the prostration of the country. Its energies remain unimpaired—its resources in full vigour, and all that is requisite is, that the spirit of the nation should ascend to the emergency of the pressure, and that its physical strength should be properly arranged and directed. Whatever diversity of opinion may exist with regard to the origi-

nal character of the war, we must all agree that it has now become on our part a war of defence. The enemy has officially announced his intention to destroy and lay waste such of our Atlantic towns and cities, as are exposed to his attacks. The exactions on Alexandria, and the smoking ruins of Washington, admonish us what we are to expect, if we shall meanly succumb, or ingloriously retreat. In such a cause, involving our national character, the welfare, the prosperity of our country, and the honour of the nation, it becomes us not to hesitate about our course. Whatever we may think, or whatever we may have thought, of men and measures, whether favourably or unfavourably, there can be, there ought to be, no difference of opinion, no collision of action, when the safety of our country is at stake. For her sake, for the sake of all that is near and dear to us, let us sacrifice upon the altar of patriotism, every feeling—every passion—every prejudice—every predilection that may enfeeble resistance, and impair exertion. For this purpose it is necessary, absolutely necessary, that there should be at least a truce to the animosities of party—that we should join hands and hearts in the great work of patriotic exertions—and that we should merge all personal, all local considerations, in the great duties we owe to our country. If this is done with zeal and in good faith, we have nothing to apprehend. This state alone can furnish 200,000 men capable of bearing arms. If but a portion of this force is brought into action, under judicious guidance, we can easily repel all hostile attacks. But if, instead of putting our shoulders to the wheel, we call upon Hercules for assistance—if we rely upon the energies of others, and not our own—if like the men of Athens, we go about inquiring what news, instead of acting with vigour—if like the Jews of old, when the sacred city was besieged, we commit ourselves to the furies of civil discord, instead of warring against the common enemy, then

indeed will we be unworthy of the name of Americans, and of the rights of freemen. Then will the hand of divine chastisement be upon us. And then will the sun of American glory, which is now rapidly descending to the horizon, set in clouds and darkness, and be extinguished for ever.

"Let us then exhort you, when you go from this place, to prepare yourselves for the crisis—to arm and discipline yourselves for the defence of your country—and to encourage all within the sphere of your influence to follow your example. If any of you have pledged your lives, your fortunes, and your honours, in the support of the present contest, let me tell you, it is high time that you should redeem your pledge: and if any of you have not, let me also tell you, that it is a sacred duty to make yourselves ready for the sacrifice whenever it shall become necessary.

"Besides preparing yourselves for personal services in the field, there are other imporiant benefits which you may confer on your country. Although much liberality has been manifested in procuring contributions, yet they have been by no means proportioned to the emergency; and although unprecedented exertions have been made in the erection of works of defence, yet much remains to be done. Exert, then, all your influence, in calling forth the resources of our fellow citizens for the defence of this city—endeavour with all your power to extinguish the spirit of party, in the love of country. When we carry on a war against a foreign foe, in defence of our firesides and our altars, let us be at peace among ourselves. A free nation animated by one mind, and rising in the majesty of individual strength, can never become the victim of subjugation—and it is to be ardently hoped that we shall repel, by our own conduct on this momentous occasion, the imputa-

tions which foreign malevolence has endeavoured to fasten upon us:—that we are a nation of talkers and boasters—that we are great in profession and small in performance—and that we are not able to protect our own independence.

"As for ourselves, gentlemen, we shall not attempt to amuse you by a parade of specious professions which have become stale, unmeaning, and disgusting. We are sensible of the importance of our duties, and, with the blessing of heaven, we shall endeavour to discharge them."

(F)

MR. CLINTON IN 1814.

The following is a report on the fortification of the city of New-York, in July, 1814. *It shows how far he opposed the war at that time. In drawing up this report he was aided by that brave, intelligent, and accomplished officer, General JOSEPH G. SWIFT, late of the United States' army. In July,* 1814, *he was stationed in the New-York military district.*

EXTRACT FROM THE RECORDS.

July 14*th*, 1814.

"The committee, to whom was referred the consideration of the unprotected situation of our city, reported :

"The committee have endeavoured to obtain information on the important objects of inquiry committed to them, and they hasten to lay it before the common council.

"It may be classed under three heads:

"1st, The probability of a hostile attack—

"2d, The means of resistance—and,

"3d, The measures which ought to be adopted, in order to protect the city, and the surrounding country, in consequence of the deficiency of those means.

"With respect to the first part, the committee have no particular information. It is well known that the British have a vast disposable force in Europe, a part of which is intended

for America—that the British naval commander-in-chief has not appeared off the American coast this season, but has remained at the island of Bermuda, in all probability with a view to concentrate his forces for some important object; and that, upon the whole, there is reason to believe, that a blow is intended to be struck, which will greatly injure this country; but the precise point of attack cannot be now known. Whether the enemy intends to aim at New-Orleans, Norfolk, Washington, Baltimore, New-York, or Newport, or whether he has adopted any definite plan, cannot be determined but by the course of events. That alarm exists at all those places —that all are exposed, and that *prudence* and *patriotism* dictate the indispensable necessity of adopting all proper measures to repel his attacks, cannot be doubted. When we consider the immense prize which this city affords to his cupidity, the importance of its position, in relation to ulterior measures of offence—in relation to the prosperity of a vast inland country, and in relation to the well-being of American commerce and navigation—and when we further consider, that from this state the war against Canada is carried on, it is not absurd to suppose, that policy may prescribe an attack upon our maritime frontiers, with a view to inflict a vital injury upon us, and with the further view to aid the operations of the enemy on the northern and western parts of the state. These apprehensions, it is true, may be all dissipated by subsequent events; and it is to be ardently wished, that in the midst of our preparations for defence, the public anxiety may be relieved, and the prosperity of our country promoted, by intelligence of an *honourable peace.*

"The means of resistance may be considered under three heads.—1st, Fortifications—2d, Troops—and, 3d, Munitions of war.

" The city may be approached in two ways by water, and *two* ways by land. The enemy may approach us by *Sandy-Hook*, and by the Sound. He may land at Gravesend bay, as he did during the last war, and arrive at Brooklyn, in the rear of the fortifications. He may land troops above Hell-Gate, and then approach us in a northern direction. The water communication by Sandy-Hook, is protected by several strong and very important works, and the only deficiency we need point out, is the neglect to complete the works on Hendrick's Reef, and adjacent commanding works on Long-Island. Vessels of any burden can pass through Hell-Gate with safety. The experiments and observations of commodore Decatur have put this beyond a doubt. This pass is totally unprotected; but prompt measures are now taking by the general government, and commissioners of fortifications, under the authority of this state, to erect a strong work of 12 guns, at Hallet's Point, which it is to be hoped will be followed up by another on Mill Rock. These forts would effectually prevent the passage of the enemy, by water, in that direction.

" With respect to the land attacks by Long-Island, and one from Hell-Gate, no measures have been adopted to repel the enemy. Indeed, all our works of defence have been erected upon the hypothesis, that he would assail us by ships. When we consider that he can land troops within eight or ten miles of the city, in more places than one, and that nothing has been done to impede or preclude his operations in this way, there is room for serious reflections. We might indeed mention, as a solitary exception, the intended erections by the commissioners of fortifications, of a strong block-house, at the principal inlet into Jamaica bay, which will prevent him from coming in barges to Conossas landing, within seven miles of the city, and at the same time cover an important section of the country, from his marauding incursions.

"With respect to *soldiers*, we have reason to believe that all the regular force in this port, and its vicinity, does not exceed 1600 men, of which a great proportion consists of raw recruits, and perhaps not one fourth are acquainted with the use of great guns. The various forts in this harbour contain, at least, 400 cannon, which, with the field artillery, will require, in case of a hostile attempt, to be manned by 4000 men. The men are now dispersed among the various forts from Sandy-Hook to Greenwich, and it is obvious, never could be concentrated to any given point, in order to meet the advances of the enemy, without a total abandonment of the works. The inadequacy of the regular force is palpable, and we have no reason to believe the local militia can supply the deficiency. The brigade of artillery does not contain more than 1000 effective men, a considerable proportion of whom are principally conversant with the duty of infantry; and even fifty of this corps are stationed at Sag-Harbour, for the defence of that place.

"The national government have recently ordered 13,500 of the militia of this state to be held in readiness for service. This force, for the purpose of immediate defence, is merely an army on paper. Before the men can be assembled together, from the various parts of the state, twenty or thirty days will elapse, and the object of the enemy may be completely obtained; and when assembled, they will be raw troops, unacquainted with the duties of a camp, without discipline, and without mutual confidence, and ignorant of the first elements of the military art.

"As to *munitions of war*, the annexed official statement exhibits the meagre contents of our state arsenal. Of field artillery we have ten pieces, four of which are six pounders.

Of muskets, we have 2,230, of which only 543 have cartridge-boxes, and the fixed ammunition is also inconsiderable. The governor has taken measures to obtain 1000 muskets, which may be daily expected.

" The United States have not in this place more than 1000 muskets. They have ten iron six pounders, in good order, four eighteen pounders, and four twelve pounders, one brass twenty-four pounder, two brass twelve pounders, and one 5½ inch howitzer. There are also eleven iron eighteen pounders on old carriages, which probably require mounting. The quantity of fixed ammunition is not known: it is apprehended, that it is entirely inadequate to the crisis.

" After this brief exposition of our situation, the next important object of inquiry is, what remedies should be adopted to supply the desiderata, and to meet the exigencies of the case.

" As a corporate body, with municipal powers, and without any authority to impose taxes, or raise troops, it is evident, that the common council are not able to supply an adequate remedy. So far forth as a representation of our defenceless situation, as an application of our pecuniary resources, as animating our fellow-citizens to spirited and patriotic exertions, and as an adoption of all proper means, either as individuals, or public functionaries, may have a benign influence, it is our incumbent duty to act *promptly*, *immediately*, and *energetically*.

" The national government is specially charged with the national defence—and it is presumed that a respectful representation of this board, by a committee, to the president of the

United States, may have a beneficial effect, as it is completely in his power to direct the unfinished works to be completed, and new works to be constructed—to direct the regular force in this quarter to be augmented—to order a portion of the militia into immediate service, to repel invasion, or to cause them to be paid by the United States, after being ordered out by the authority of the state—to cause munitions of war to be augmented without any great inconvenience or expense, as it is believed that the United States have arms and ammunition sufficient, which may be sent to this place. Next to the general government, we must look to the state government for protection. The governor has authority, by the 68th section of the militia law, to order into service, at the expense of the state, any portion of the militia, in case of invasion, or other emergency, when he shall judge it necessary—he may also increase the munitions of war in this quarter, by purchase, or by ordering them from other arsenals where they are not wanted.

"It appears to the committee, that it is indispensably necessary, in order to protect this city against attacks by land, to have two fortified camps; one on the heights of Brooklyn, and the other on the heights of Harlæm: and they should be immediately occupied by the militia. These encampments may prevent the approach of the enemy in the most exposed quarters—will inure the men to arms and discipline—will serve as places of rendezvous for the militia in cases of alarm, and *will give a decided tone and countenance to public confidence.* An encampment at Harlæm will have this additional advantage: it will keep open a communication by land with the continent, should the enemy obtain the command of our waters. The land at Harlæm may be occupied without any expense—that at Brooklyn may be obtained at a reasonable

rate, during the war, by paying an annual rent. It is supposed that these camps may be soon fortified by the voluntary labour of our fellow citizens, and by the militia ordered to occupy them. A respectable portion of the physical force of this city is exempted from serving in the militia, excepting in cases of invasion—the body of firemen, consisting of upwards of 1000 able-bodied men—those who have served a certain period in the artillery, and persons above the age of forty-five, come principally under the description. To render this force of any use, it ought to be organized. The firemen might compose one regiment, and the exempts another. Although the governor is authorized to call out the militia at the expense of the state; yet as no legislative appropriation has been made for this object, it is necessary that the corporation should loan the necessary funds on this occasion. The removal of our shipping from our harbour to some place of safety, besides being beneficial to the owners, will diminish the inducements of the enemy to attack the city, and will prevent the service of an efficient body of men from being diverted from the public defence, to the conservation of the shipping.

"With a view of bringing these propositions before the common council, in a formal shape, the committee submit the following resolutions.

1st—"Resolved, That aldermen Mapes and Smith be requested forthwith to call upon the president of the United States, and respectfully to solicit his attention to the objects above stated, as being within the purview of his official powers.

2—"Resolved, That the committee of defence, and the comptroller, be a committee to procure the necessary ground

on the heights of Brooklyn, the money therefor to be advanced by this board, on an annual rent, for the purpose above expressed, in full confidence that the same will be refunded by the state, or general government.

3d—" Resolved, That his excellency the governor, *be further respectfully requested to call out, for the defence of the city*, under the authority given to him by the militia law, a competent number of militia, to occupy the proposed camps, and that the corporation will loan the necessary funds, not exceeding 300,000 dollars, to be reimbursed by the state.

4th—" Resolved, That his excellency the governor, be further respectfully requested to increase, by all means in his power, the munitions of war in this part of the state, and to cause the field artillery and arms to be put in complete order.

5th—" Resolved, That the commissioners of fortifications be requested to hasten the erection of works on Hallet's point, or Mill Rock, or such other works as they may judge necessary, to prevent the approach of the enemy to the city by the Sound.

6th—" Resolved, That the committee of defence be instructed to attend to the organization of the exempts, as above stated—to the removal of the shipping, and the procuring the voluntary labour of our fellow-citizens on the encampments above mentioned.

7th—" Resolved, That aldermen Fish and Wendover be a committee to wait on the governor, with these resolutions.

8th—" Resolved, That the finance committee be authorized

to report the means of raising the moneys that may be required under these resolutions.

"The committee having been directed by the common council to confer with his excellency the governor, and major-general Lewis, conceive it no more than an act of justice to state, that those gentlemen have evinced every disposition to promote the defence of this city, and will unquestionably afford all the aid in their power to the attainment of this important object.

(Signed) "DE WITT CLINTON,
"N. W. FISH,
"P. H. WENDOVER."

(G)

MR. CLINTON AND THE IRISH EMIGRANTS.

During the late war, the Irish emigrants, residing in the city of New-York, made an eloquent address to Mr. Clinton, through that truly great and illustrious man, Thomas Addis Emmet, the pride and ornament of his adopted country. The following was Mr. Clinton's answer. Let all true Irishmen read it. Between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Emmet, the most indissoluble friendship has always existed.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Next to the approbation of my own conscience, the favourable opinion of honourable and high minded men has always been an object of solicitude to me. I therefore consider this expressisn of your good will, as one of the most pleasing events of my life.

"If I had been insensible to these natural predilections which every man must entertain of the countrymen of his ancestors, yet patriotic considerations would have inculcated the expediency of cherishing Irish emigration; for take away from America her population of that description, and who could not mourn over the loss of many of the best heads, and best hearts in the nation? Who would not lament so alarming a diminution of our physical strength, and such an irreparable destruction of our productive industry?

"When I see among you, men whose virtues and talents reflect lustre upon the learned professions, and whose names

will live in the memory of the wise and the virtuous of future times; and when I consider the whole course of your irreproachable conduct—your ardent attachment to those sacred principles, which it has been the favourite object of my life to promote—the principles of republicanism—and your entire devotion to the supremacy of law and good order, and to the honour and prosperity of your adopted country, I must declare that I am proud to hail you as my friends; and that, in private as well as in public life, I shall never cease to entertain and to manifest the sincerest regard for you, individually and collectively. DE WITT CLINTON."

MR. CLINTON,

AND THE

MILITARY AND NAVAL HEROES

OF THE LATE WAR.

It is said by men reckless of truth, honesty, justice, and self-respect, that De Witt Clinton *opposed the war.* Washington was charged with being a traitor after the establishment of our independence; Jefferson for years was denied the praise of writing the declaration of independence; and Alexander Hamilton was stoned in the streets of New-York, as an enemy to his country. Patriots may be hunted down, execrated, proscribed, and driven into banishment; illustrious statesmen, who have founded the prosperity and built up the glory of states, may be calumniated, persecuted, and for a moment, overwhelmed by the arts and desperation of the wicked; the great and the virtuous may excite envy and draw down upon their heads the vengeance of profligate combinations; but time will roll on. Sooner or later it will bring the accused and the accusers to the temple of truth, and to the altar of justice. Guilt and slander will shrink away

abashed into some dark corner, and the wreath of immortality be entwined around the heads of those whom nations and ages hail as moral and military heroes, and as benefactors to all after generations.

Let every man whose soul can be reached and fired by the language of eloquence, and by the inspiration of genius, read, and attentively read, the following addresses. They would have done honour to Athens in the days of Pericles, and to Rome, in the glorious consulship of Tully. Mr. Clinton oppose the war! These speeches bring us down to 1815, to a short time previous to the assembling of that famous body at Hartford, with which Mr. Clinton is accused of having formed a league! If ever Napoleon uttered words calculated to lead France to victory, the following appeals through our gallant commanders, were calculated to rouse the American nation to heroic enthusiasm—to deeds of invincible valour. History will hand them down to an admiring posterity.

MR. CLINTON'S ADDRESS TO COMMODORE PERRY.

"Sir,

"The illustrious achievements of individuals, in science and in arms, constitute the glory of nations; patriotism, therefore, unites with policy, in conferring those honours and rewards which are due to distinguished merit.

"After we have signalized ourselves in conquering the enemy of our country, a task, perhaps more difficult, yet remains,—to obtain a victory over ourselves. He who, in the moment of triumph, and in the full career of glory, reposes himself with humility upon the Supreme Being, exercises the duty of humanity to the vanquished, and displays that modest deportment, which is ever the companion of elevated minds, exhibits an example of virtue, worthy of all imitation, and honourable to human nature.

"I shall not, sir, on this occasion, from motives of delicacy, expatiate upon the important naval events which took place under your auspices, upon the waters of Lake Erie, but I must be permitted to say, that your subsequent conduct, and particularly your endeavour, by more than fraternal attention, to sooth the afflicted spirit, and to restore the wounded frame of your brave and magnanimous antagonist, have given you the strongest additional claims upon the regard and affections of your country.

"I now proceed, sir, to perform one of the most pleasing acts of my life, in conferring upon you the highest honours in the power of this city to bestow."

His honour then administered the usual oath, and presented the certificate of freedom.

MR. CLINTON'S ADDRESS TO GEN. MACOMB.

" Sir,

" At the commencement of the present war, most of the soldiers of the revolution were no more. The surviving few, bending under the weight of years, or still feeling the wounds they had received in their country's cause, were, with some exceptions, no longer able to appear in arms. A long peace had, in a great degree, banished military knowledge; but there was still one institution devoted to its cultivation. From this school, superintended by a gentleman of great science and talents, has proceeded that knowledge which has essentially promoted the security of America. War is a science, as well as an art. And, in order to constitute an able and accomplished soldier, there must be a union of valour, intelligence, and discipline. Considering our unprepared state, the absence of discipline, and the low state of military knowledge, it is not to be wondered, that the first stages of our contest should be marked by unfortunate events. Adversity tries the character of nations, as well as of individuals.

" It was not for America, in the vigour of youth, and in the full possession of martial courage, and physical power, to succumb under a series of disastrous occurrences. She rose, in the plenitude of her strength, like Sampson from his slumbers; she sent forth her sons to the combat—they measured swords with long-tried veteran armies that had gathered laurels on the ensanguined plains of Europe. They repulsed the enemy in all directions—with inferior force, they frequently conquered him—with equal force, they never were vanquished. They have acquired immortal renown—have given confidence to the country—have elevated our character in the estimation of the civilized world; and posterity will look upon the actors in these illustrious scenes with the same ve-

neration that we now contemplate the departed heroes of former times.

"Fully sensible of the important services which you have rendered to America, at a very critical period, and desirous of doing justice to a citizen of this state, who deserves so well of his country, this city now confers on you her civic honours."

The freeman's oath was then administered to the general, and the certificate of freedom presented to him in an elegant gold box.

MR. CLINTON'S ADDRESS TO GEN. BROWN,

January 30, 1815.

"Sir,

"However disastrous and portentous the state of public affairs may appear, at any particular period, there is almost invariably, in every free country, a redeeming spirit which produces faculties demanded by the crisis, and exhibits powers proportioned to the emergency. The history of the United States furnishes many remarkable illustrations of this truth, and gives us strong reasons to believe, that however we may suffer for a time, yet the hand of the Almighty has marked us out for a long career of prosperity and greatness. The war of the revolution astonished mankind by a sublime display of heroism, and political wisdom; and when at a subsequent period, the elements of confusion and anarchy were let loose among us, our civil institutions were meliorated, and our national prosperity fortified and improved by the counsels and exertions of sages and patriots. We are now engaged in a war with one of the most powerful nations in the world—a nation which has had a principal agency in overthrowing the colossal power of France—which now controls the destinies of Europe—and which holds in its hands the trident of the ocean. This enemy, so formidable, has attacked us by sea and land—has approached us in all directions, and is now menacing our northern, our western, our eastern, and our southern frontiers. Although distracted by intestine divisions, paralized by inefficient measures, environed with dangers, and surrounded by difficulties, yet America has, on most important occasions, presented a countenance undismayed and magnanimous; and has produced heroes who have, on the ocean and the land, vindicated our national character, and have created imperishable monuments of individual and national glory The events which have occurred on the western frontiers of this state, during the last campaign, have baffled the proud expectations of the enemy, and have taught him, that by energy, wisdom, and union, we can set at defiance the combined efforts of the world. At Chippewa, at Bridgewater, and at Erie, our gallant army came in contact

with the veteran soldiers of Great Britain, who had dyed the plains of Europe with the blood of the best troops of France, and the result has every where been successful and glorious. The heroic spirits which directed our physical force, and the brave soldiers that fought under such masterly guidance, are entitled to the gratitude of America. Wherever they go, the good wishes and good offices of their country will attend them —history will record their services and their sufferings— their deeds of valour and of glory ; and future generations, as well as the present, will look up to them as models for imitation, and as examples of heroic greatness. As long as the waters of the great lakes shall roll over the cataract of Niagara, so long shall those heroes command the gratitude and veneration of posterity ; and the future traveller will, with increased curiosity, and indescribable emotions, contemplate the magnificent scenery of a country, equally celebrated for the illustrious achievements of men, and the sublime operations of nature. To the leaders in these exploits, the just and impartial voice of future times will apply the portrait of a great captain, drawn by the first orator of antiquity.

" *Labor in negotus, fortitudo in periculis, industrios in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo.*"

" Although delicacy will not permit me to state the agency which you have had in these distinguished scenes, yet I must be permitted to say, that the promises which you gave of future and eminent usefulness, when by your vigour and skill you protected the most important place in the west, against the invasions of the enemy, have been fully realized on the borders of the Niagara—and that to such men as you and your gallant companions in arms, America must look for the palladium of her safety."

The freeman's oath was then administered to the general, and the certificate of freedom of the city, together with an elegant gold box, with a suitable inscription, were delivered to him.

MR. CLINTON'S ADDRESS TO COMMODORE MACDONOUGH.

January 5, 1815.

"SIR,

"When our northern frontier was invaded by a powerful army—when the heroes who have immortalized themselves on the Niagara, were pressed by a superior force—when the capital of the nation was overrun by hostile bands—when the most important city to the south was attacked by the enemy, and when he threatened to lay waste our maritime towns with fire and sword—at a period so inauspicious and gloomy, when all but those who fully understand, and duly appreciated the firmness and resources of the American character, began to despair of the republic, you were the first who changed the fortune of our arms, and who dispelled the dark cloud that hung over our country. With a force greatly inferior, you met the enemy, vaunting of his superior strength, and confident in victory—you crushed his proud expectations—you conquered him; and the embattled hosts which were ready to penetrate into the heart of our country, fled in dismay and confusion. In discharging the great duties which you owed to America, you did not forget, in that trying hour, the source of all power and all good—you appealed to that BEING, in whose hands are the issues of life, and the fate of nations; and you completed the glory of the patriot, by exhibiting the christian hero.

"As long as illustrious events shall be embodied in history, so long will the victory of Lake Champlain, obtained under your auspices, command the respect of mankind. And when you, and all who hear me, shall be numbered among the dead, those who succeed us, to the most extended line of remote posterity, will cherish, with exultation, those great achievements which are indissolubly connected with the prosperity and glory of America."

The freeman's oath was then administered to the commodore, and the certificate of freedom was presented in an elegant gold box.

THE END.

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